766 crowds leave the fair, the sellers their stalls, and of the caparisoned field
793 only a charred blackness remains.

•922 So soon the fires of war were to burn up not only the show and tinsel of Burma, but things more solid and golden than the life of a monk —rice fields and food of all kinds, *ain-daung-pyit-si*, the setting-up-house-goods of a million husbanding families, the houses, villages and towns whose peace allowed men and women to weave, cure fish, make boats, carve silver and wood and ivory, and indulge their laughing children. December 8th fell soon after the full moon of Tasaungmon, when the Lent-free season was but short-lived, and laid a blight upon the whole country. Destruction was so swift, so sudden.

For nations which declare war or have war declared on them, the day of outbreak ushers in a grim period, but it is clear in the minds of the people that this is a call to effort and sacrifice, for the idea of nation, sovereignty, liberty, whatever they have learnt to hold dear for long generations, or else have just newly won to cherish as something precious. They know, when war is declared, that they must defend their country, have ready for sacrifice their young men, and work with grim industry in a geared-up machine. But how could this apply in the case of Burma, a country which had lost proud sovereignty fifty-five years before, which had not yet gained a modern replacement for it, and which felt itself to be only incidentally in the path of the war monster's appetite. Even those of the people who had been expecting war with the rumours that flew around Rangoon for the six months previous to this, either from people who had cause to know or from a clear judgment, did not know quite how to feel when it came upon them. In our family councils as to which place would offer the best sanctuary from bombs, gunfire and the recklessness of fighting soldiery, a young cousin opposed the idea of our ancestral Thaton as being directly in the path of the invader. "Well, what if it is," said her mother; "do we go to the middle of the roadway, and stand, looking up with mouth open to receive the cannon balls? We are human beings, eating rice. We can reason like human beings and move aside, avoid a little, and the menace will go straight down the road, and after a time leave us safe behind."

This might be regarded as typical enough of the attitude of the majority of people—to move aside from big places and the scenes of war, to leave posts when to hold on to them would be snapping with jaws agape at the gunfire of a fast-winning invader. But the results of this policy was enough to fill us with wretchedness. People ran here and there, from one set of relatives to another, not always welcoming; setting out with foolish encumbrances of goods and chattels and gradually being

forced to shed them piece by piece, with the bitter realization that they could not be saved. But war raged like a forest fire which creeps to the farthest corner; like a deluge which rises to the highest hills, for people went northwards and northwards, and still found no sanctuary. 722•

Another thing that filled us with wretchedness was the feeling that all the activity of a normal life would cease. The people who thought reasonably in the face of the quick Japanese onrush, that the British would probably have to get out but would prepare, perhaps in India, and be able to return one day, expected to spend the next few years in quiet and hiding from danger. The average person just felt vaguely stunned, that now there would be a negation of all social and economic endeavour; he could not visualize any quick restoration of even a shell of the machinery of normal life which was so alarmingly disappearing before his eyes. Symbolic of this was the emptying of schools and colleges in Rangoon within the day on which the news of Pearl Harbour came through. I shall never forget the effect on my young sisters and their friends. They cried with grief as their parents came to take them home, parting them from friends, sweethearts, all companions of youth, books and the outside world, at best to go into the jungle and live as though they had never known a world looking towards Europe.

I was twenty-five when war broke out, and caught me up, in late February 1942, in a compulsory sea evacuation carried out by the military authorities. I felt as though my heart would break against this awful machine which had suddenly made us so unimportant, and which did not care that I was a Burman amidst the crowd of foreign women it was evacuating, taking me from mother and sisters to whom I could not get news or explanation of my desertion. 000

As we left Inya Hall with lights ablaze, taps full on, store-rooms thrown wide open and waiting for the invader, a vast and inexpressible sadness settled upon me. Dawn had not yet broken, and only the glare from Kemmendine fires still lighted the sky. How sad, how black and empty each familiar house-face looked, with shut eyes and shuttered doors. It was Goodbye indeed, for though the flames are dying now, we shrink from contemplating the charred desolation that we must see on our return.

But it would have been Goodbye in any case for another, happier reason; for I had just met my husband who would have carried me off to a different world in the farthermost corner of Burma, the Kengtung State of Shans, in a land of mountains, narrow valleys and pine trees, where simple people with rosy cheeks cultivate the hillsides and address the ruling family as "Heavenly", where women are not heard, but seen in meekness to obey and fear their husbands. That is another story. 563 562

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

—in fact, that beyond collecting a certain amount of taxes, and appointing governors to the different provinces, it hardly made itself felt outside Mandalay and the large river towns. The people to a great extent governed themselves. They had a very good system of village government, and managed nearly all their local affairs. But beyond the presence of a governor, there was but little to attach them to the central government. There was, and is, absolutely no aristocracy of any kind at all. The Burmese are a community of equals, in a sense that has probably never been known elsewhere. All their institutions are the very opposite to feudalism. Now, feudalism was instituted to be useful in war. The Burmese customs were instituted that men should live in comfort and ease during peace; they were useless in war. So the natural leaders of a people, as in other countries, were absent. There were no local great men; the governors were men appointed from time to time from Mandalay, and usually knew nothing of their charges; there were no rich men, no large landholders—not one. There still remained, however, one institution that other nations have made useful in war, namely, the organization of religion. For Buddhism is fairly well organized—certainly much better than ever the government was. It has its heads of monasteries, its Gaing-dauks, its Gaing-oks, and finally the Thathanabaing, the head of the Burmese Buddhism. The overthrow of King Thibaw had not injured any of this. This was an organization in touch with the whole people, revered and honoured by every man and woman and child in the country. In this

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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own soul perfect. This is the first of all things, and comes before any other consideration. Of the virtues that only war can create and nourish this teaching knows nothing. Be pure and kind-hearted, full of charity and compassion, and so you may do good to others. These are the vows the Buddhist monks make, these are the vows they keep; and so it happened that all that great organization was useless to the patriot fighter, was worse than useless, for it was against him. The whole spectacle of Burma in those days, with the country seething with strife, and the monks going about their business calmly as ever, begging their bread from door to door, preaching of peace, not war, of kindness, not hatred, of pity, not revenge, was to most foreigners quite inexplicable. They could not understand it. I remember a friend of mine with whom I went through many experiences speaking of it with scorn. He was a cavalry officer, 'the model of a light cavalry officer'; he had with him a squadron of his regiment, and we were trying to subdue a very troubled part of the country.

We were camping in a monastery, as we frequently did—a monastery on a hill near a high golden pagoda. The country all round was under the sway of a brigand leader, and sorely the villagers suffered at his hands now that he had leapt into unexpected power. The villages were half abandoned, the fields untilled, the people full of unrest; but the monasteries were as full of monks as ever; the gongs rang, as they ever did, their message through the quiet evening air; the little boys were taught there just the same; the trees were watered and the gardens swept as if there were no change

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

at all—as if the king were still on his golden throne, and the English had never come; as if war had never burst upon them. And to us, after the very different scenes we saw now and then, saw and acted in, these monks and their monasteries were difficult to understand. The religion of the Buddha thus professed was strange.

'What is the use,' said my friend, 'of this religion that we see so many signs of? Suppose these men had been Jews or Hindus or Mussulmans, it would have been a very different business, this war. These yellow-robed monks, instead of sitting in their monasteries, would have pervaded the country, preaching against us and organizing. No one organizes better than an ecclesiastic. We should have had them leading their men into action with sacred banners, and promising them heaven hereafter when they died. They would have made Ghazis of them. Any one of these is a religion worth having. But what is the use of Buddhism? What do these monks do? I never see them in a fight, never hear that they are doing anything to organize the people. It is, perhaps, as well for us that they do not. But what is the use of Buddhism?'

So, or somewhat like this, spoke my friend, speaking as a soldier. Each of us speaks from our own standpoint. He was a brilliant soldier, and a religion was to him a sword, a thing to fight with. That was one of the first uses of a religion. He knew nothing of Buddhism; he cared to know nothing, beyond whether it would fight. If so, it was a good religion in its way. If not, then not.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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721 pieces of the cement and threw them at the troops.
157 He would not surrender—not he—and he was killed.
701 There were many like him. The whole war was little affairs of this kind—a hundred, three hundred, of our men, and much the same, or a little more, of theirs. They only once or twice raised a force of two thousand men. Nothing can speak more forcibly of their want of organization than this. The whole country was pervaded by bands of fifty or a hundred men, very rarely amounting to more than two hundred, and no two bands ever acted in concert.

It is probable that most of the best men of the country were against us. It is certain, I think, that of those who openly joined us and accompanied us in our expedition, very, very few were other than men who had some private grudge to avenge, or some purpose to gain, by opposing their own people. Of such as these you cannot expect very much. And yet there were exceptions—men who showed up all the more brilliantly because they were exceptions—men whom I shall always honour. There were two I remember best of all. They are both dead now.

722 One was the eldest son of the hereditary governor
642 of a part of the country called Kawlin. It is in
631 the north-west of Upper Burma, and bordered on a semi-independent state called Wuntho. In the troubles that occurred after the deposition of King Thibaw, the Prince of Wuntho thought that he would be able to make for himself an independent kingdom, and he began by annexing Kawlin. So the governor had to flee, and with him his sons, and

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
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naturally enough they joined our columns when we advanced in that direction, hoping to be replaced. They were replaced, the father as governor under the direction of an English magistrate, and the son as his assistant. They were only kept there by our troops, and upheld in authority by our power against Wuntho. But they were desired by many of their own people, and so, perhaps, they could hardly be called traitors, as many of those who joined us were. The father was a useless old man, but his son, he of whom I speak, was brave and honourable, good tempered and courteous, beyond most men whom I have met. It was well known that he was the real power behind his father. It was he who assisted us in an attempt to quell the insurrections and catch the raiders that troubled our peace, and many a time they tried to kill him, many a time to murder him as he slept.

There was a large gang of insurgents who came across the Mu River one day, and robbed one of his villages, so a squadron of cavalry was sent in pursuit. We travelled fast and long, but we could not catch the raiders. We crossed the Mu into unknown country, following their tracks, and at last, being without guides, we camped that night in a little monastery in the forest. At midnight we were attacked. A road ran through our camp, and there was a picket at each end of the road, and sentries were doubled.

It was just after midnight that the first shot was fired. We were all asleep when a sudden volley was poured into the south picket, killing one sentry and wounding another. There was no time to dress,

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Introduction

This is a study of the falling standard of living of a Burmese family who were uprooted by the insurrection from their village home of Pathee in 1949 and transplanted in a refugee camp in Rangoon. The family consisted of U Myaing - a fisherman aged 47; his wife Ma Aye Myaing, age 33, Daw Aw Zar, his mother, age 72, and four daughters - Ma Yin Shwe, age 14, Ma Khin Nyein, age 11, Ma Khni Saw, age 7, and Ma Win Tin, age 5.(1951).

An attempt is made to present quantitatively and qualitatively the items used in, and activities of everyday life in the home village as contrasted with the refugee camp. It is hoped this dynamic situation will reveal some of the basic facts of Burmese culture as they pertain to an average family. The bulk of the data was collected under my direction by Ko Sein Tu, Tutor of the Psychology Department, University of Rangoon, from August 1950 to May 1951. Ko Nya Tu, medical student at the University, helped in collecting the health data. Ma Khin Hmway, Assistant in Anthropology at the University, collected some of the more personal data from the ladies of the family. Professor Mohinda Nath, Head of the Department of Biology, University of Rangoon, kindly arranged for the scientific identification of the food items. Part of the data was collected by the use of a tape recorder portions of which are reproduced verbatim in this report. Miss Mary Watson, Head Stenographer of the Community Project, gave her valuable help in proof reading and typing the stencils for this report.

A setting for the better understanding of the facts of the family is given in sections on general Burmese Concepts which follow the family data. This was provided by Ko Maung Than, student at the University, who worked as my assistant from August through November 1951.

I am indebted to Dr. Htin Aung, Professor of Anthropology and Rector of the University of Rangoon for his constant support and encouragement in this study. I carried out the study as a Fulbright grantee in Anthropology attached to the United States Educational Foundation in Rangoon, to whose officers I am grateful

Home in Lewis Road Refugee Camp

Since November 1949 U Myaing and his family have been living in the Lewis Road refugee camp, Rangoon. They had stopped at half a dozen places prior to their present abode, but their living had been on very much the same scale. The refugee camp is located about a mile north of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda on a hilly promontory. The area is not far from Tiger Alley (U Wisara Road) and along this road and others nearby, huts have been built up within the last few years, largely by war refugees. The buildings of the camp were earlier used as headquarters and barracks by the People's Volunteer Organisation (P.V.O.). The P.V.O. is an offshoot of the Burmese Patriot's Army following the end of the Second World War. It was originally an army, but after independence was converted into an "organisation" for political purposes. A Yellow Band and a White Band section developed and the White P.V.O.s becoming insurgents.

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The vital statistics of the camp as given by U Khant, the school master are as follows:- 269 families comprised of 856 adults (LU GYI), 211 young people (LU LAT), and 33 infants (NO SO) live in 15 huts . The number of families in each hut ranges from 9 in the smallest to 36 in the largest. The infant category includes those babies who are still breast feeding - up to one year of age. The adult category begins at the age of voting - 18 years. The proportion of the three categories as shown in the totals remains fairly consistent for each of the houses indicating that there are no special age-grade habitations. The refugees come for the most part from the Delta area of Lower Burma, from the districts of Pantanaw and Bassein but they have not organised themselves in their huts according to the district or village from which they come. The assignment of space has been on a pragmatic base according to who arrived at what time. The buildings consisted for the most part of rectangular huts measuring 30 feet by 60 feet with woven split bamboo walls and thatched roofs. When the area was converted into a refugee camp, each family was assigned a certain space which they then partitioned off. A map of the refugee camp area shows a haphazard plan. The only

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[792] apparently meaningful locations would be the huts of the PHON-GYIS
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The new PHON-GYI KYAUNG near the entrance of the camp was built by others, not by the refugees. The one at the back, on the other hand, was built by contributions among the refugees themselves. One PHON-GYI and one small boy reside here. The PHON-Gyi from the new KYAUNG comes for HSOON (food giver to begging monks) once in a while. A third PHON-GYI KYAUNG at the far rear also was in existence before U Myaing's arrival at camp. Here also resides one PHON-GYI and one small boy.

723 U Myaing came by himself to camp and took possession of the
362 place he now lives in. The camp-head assigned the place to him. When they first arrived in Rangoon they had to rent a room at HPA-HSA-PA-LI-KWETTHIT (an area of huts organised by the Anti-facists Peoples Freedom League, the political party now in power) for a period of 2½ months at Rs. 17/8 per month. This was because they did not know of the refugee camp. They learnt of its existence just as their money ran out, and they shifted over.

U Myaing is of opinion that since he is installed in these quarters no other family will come to put up there, but admits that if they did, he would not have any right to drive them out, since he does not own the place. He is a comparative latecomer to the camp. Other families have been here for nearly two years now, while U Myaing arrived only 10 months ago. The extensions to the eaves of the roof were made by U Myaing. The condition of the camp when he came was very much the same as it is now. Only two additional huts and one PHONGYI KYAUNG have been erected since. He considers that his quarters are slightly better off than those of others in that there is less bustle and confusion in the buildings.

722 The quarters assigned to U Myaing are formed by the extension
342 of the eaves of a rectangular house. The house, which measures 60 feet long by 20 feet wide has bamboo matwalls about 10 feet high, is floored with stone paves and has six windows 3 feet square on the long sides. There is a door 3 feet wide at one end. The roof is gabled with a ridge pole from which 8 rafters sixteen feet long are attached. The extensions of the roof consist of thatched leaves on

a bamboo frame extending for about eight feet. The interior of the house contains piles of small boxes in which the bones and ashes of the P.V.O. dead are stored. Consequently no one lives inside. Seven families live under theeaves on three sides of the house along a narrow strip nine feet wide. The area is divided into a number of rooms "6 TAUNG square - the same room size as in the Pathwe house." U Myaing's family occupies 2½ such rooms at the corner of the building. The head space varies from 8 feet against the wall of the house to less than two feet at the edges of the eaves. A break in the eaves forms an entrance at the corner. Figuring one room to be equivalent to a 6 foot square room 3½ feet high, we arrive at a total of 315 cubic feet of living space for the 2½ rooms.

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One and a half rooms are covered with a slightly raised bamboo floor on which U Myaing and his family sleep. A space 6' long by 2' wide is used as a work area and for social purposes, but this is not rigorously claimed, since the adjacent family frequently uses it as a storage space. In speaking of the refugee camp quarters U Myaing says:

> "It is very narrow (cramped) here. We eat and sleep in the same place. At Pathwe we kept 2 rooms separately to sleep in. Our house there was very wide and roomy. Here we sleep and cook all in one place."

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The sleeping and eating area is separated from the adjacent family by a woven split bamboo partition about 5 feet high; at five feet three inches from the floor, a number of bamboo poles criss-cross to form rafters on which objects are stored.

Here the sleeping mats are rolled up, along with sleeping equipment which consist of U Myaing's wooden pillow, makeshift pillow of rag bundles, 1 holey woolen blanket. One mosquito net used by U Myaing and his wife is also suspended from these rafters. At the far end of the bamboo flooring, there are three baskets. One of these baskets contains the women's clothing; another contains rice. Two clay pots are at the side. The altar consists of a slant board placed on the wall above the sleeping area and equipped with a flower vase. The objects found in the cooking area are: "U" shaped fire area made by 3 bricks touching on edge, bamboo stool for Ma Aye Myaing, hollow bamboo blow tube for starting fire, cooking pots,

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quiet), the time when the children become quiet from 7 to 8, 9 to 10 p.m. is known as THATKYI-KAUNG-CHA (oldage-head-drop) when the elders begin to nod; from 11 to midnight and beyond is LUKLIN-PYAN CHAIN (Bachelors'-return-time) when young men complete their carousing and return to sleep. ATO (dawn) comes at the second cocks'crowing (first is at mid-night) about 4 o'clock. The KALA-DET (Indians-marching in) hollow wooden drum is struck in the phoongyi-kyaungs at this time to awaken the village. The women who prepare breakfast, and the old folks who rise to worship appear at this time - but others may sleep on for an hour or so.

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It is obligatory to wash the legs and feet before retiring. In warm weather a mat is preferred for coolness - but in colder and damp weather a mattress is considered necessary for protection. Prayers taking from 2 minutes (most) up to considerably longer are generally said before bed-time. These praise Buddha and include such supplications as "may I be lifted up to heaven soon." Dreams may be good or bad according to the disposition of the mate. Certain dreams have meanings applicable as omens. It is during sleep that the ghost of a recently departed loved one contacts the sleeper and, sometimes, succeeds in luring him away permanently.

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Analysis of home standard in Pathee and in Refugee Camp.

The Pathee home was in nearly every way superior to refugee camp home. Let us examine the nature of this superiority and attempt to see the adjustment which U Myaing made in the refugee camp. The Pathee home was an independent unit as compared to the refugee camp apartment-like home. However we may not assume that U Myaing found this a disadvantage, since living in Pantanaw was "close". The quarters in the one case were separated by half a dozen feet and on the other by a bamboo partition. An important difference is that the Pathee home was owned by U Myaing and he had inalienable rights there, whereas the refugee camp apartment was loaned to him for a short time period.

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Only about one fiftieth of the space was available in the refugee camp (15,000 cubic feet in Pathee, 315 cubic feet in camp.) However,

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much of the Pathwe space was not vital in that it was used for social or storage functions only. 2987 cubic feet were used in Pathwe for sleeping, cooking, and religious purposes,-approximately 20% of the total amount of space. However, all of the space in the refugee camp was used for these vital purposes. About 1/10th of the Pathwe space for these functions was available in the camp. In commenting on the differences, U Myaing especially stressed the lack of space and the fact that all functions had to be done in the same enclosure. He did not seem particularly bothered about the lack of space for social functions or visitors.

There seemed to be no difference regarding costs of housing - non-existent in both cases beyond the original investment in Pathwe. Also there is no difference regarding use of land surrounding house. The reduction of space available for the altar from a six taung room to a place on the wall seemed to be regarded lightly. The Pathwe house was undoubtedly healthier with its windows and open space, and this handicap will be further discussed under the heading of health.

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There is considerable difference in the house furnishings of the two places. The quality and the quantity of the objects in the refugee camp are considerably lower. The bric-a-brac (porcelain duck glass elephant, and portelain water jug) were lost in Pathwe and regretted because of sentimental value. The earthen-ware jars used for storing fish have no use here and are not "desired", but the HSOON vessels would be useful now. These would cost about Rs. 25/- apiece here. The KYAUK-KAR food carrier is also desired and this would cost Rs. 10/- here. Mosquito nets for Daw Aw Zar and the children would certainly be desirable, but these would cost over Rs.30/- even if made from cheap plain material.

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The tables used in Pathwe are not found in camp since the family sit on the floor on the mats and hold their dishes in their laps, and one stool is used in camp and this by Ma Aye Myaing in preparing the food. Storage containers including cupboards and boxes have been dispensed with and their place taken by baskets in camp. The bedding in camp lacks the comforts of mattress and adequate mosquito nets and pillows. The point must be made however, that U Myaing's family is used to sleeping on hard surfaces and it may not be supposed that the

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quality of their sleep suffers to any appreciable extent. Americans who live in Rangoon suffer far more relatively from lack of "beauty rest" mattresses.

As far as the actual physical needs of the family go, the refugee camp situation does not seem to be far below an acceptable level. The Pathee house gave space far above that actually used for physical needs. The answer here would seem to be that social obligations in Pathee were much greater than here and the actual space fulfilled a real need there. Since such a demand is not present in the refugee camp, the lack of this space is not regarded as a privation. In general the refugee camp quarters are a compressed version of the Pathee quarters and do not represent any true innovations. The family has been able to contract the quantity and quality of their needs, but their nature has not been appreciably altered. The pattern of "Home" has not been shattered, but has been contracted and its quality somewhat changed.

The town of Pantanaw was recaptured from the insurgents early in the month of December 1950. U Myaing and his family are considering whether or not it would be advisable to return home. It seems that the government has offered to send back those who are willing to return. Government offers them, in addition to passage money, other things such as mosquito netting, or so U Myaing thinks. But they are also hesitant and afraid and would like to remain for some time longer in the peace and security of the refugee camp. However, when the country settles down and things return to normal, they would like to return. They prefer Pantanaw because they find it much easier to earn money there. Here they find it more difficult to find work - and it involves harder labour. Also, the prices here are very high in comparison.

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The daily work schedule of U Myaing while he was working as a fish processor (2 months in a year) was as follows:- 512 461 264

He rose at four or five in the morning said his prayers, drank plain tea, had boiled beans, fried fish and rice left over from the previous day's evening meal. After that he went to collect fish, bring it to the bank and start work on it. He rested from 11 o'clock to 2 o'clock. At two he resumed work till about five when he would be finished for the day. Sometimes he would sleep at the work place after returning home for his evening meal.

Work in the Refugee Camp.

Shortly after arriving at the Camp U Myaing worked in Sulian Park near the Kokine market where a factory for spinning and weaving cloth was being set up. The contractor was Chinese, and he engaged between 30 to 35 labourers every day. These labourers were unskilled and they were employed in levelling the ground and laying the foundation of the factory. Most of the labourers were Indians - there being only two Burmans, U Myaing and Ma Aye Myaing got Rs. 2/-. The working hours stretched from eight in the morning to 12 noon, with a break of one hour at 12. At one o'clock they resumed work and continued until five in the evening. In the mornings they had to go to the factory by themselves, and this took them about a half hour walk. Sometimes they were sent home in a truck in the evenings. U Myaing had to enquire each day at various places for a chance to work. He was not always successful. 722● 461 464 331

It was not usual for Ma Aye Myaing to come along like this to work as a labourer. This was the first time she did so. Ma Aye Myaing said that in future she would accompany U Myaing whenever there are prospects of such work. They knew that women worked in this way, but had not known that such work was available. [562]

As a matter of fact, I met U Myaing through the mats which were made in his camp. We got dinner place mats through him. These are rectangular 1½ feet by 2 feet mats of finelywoven split cane in an over 2 - under 2 pattern. They cost Rs. 2/8 each. U Myaing arranged for the making of these mats and collected the money for them, but 285 437

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Comparison of Work in Pathwe and Camp

In his role as a refugee U Myaing is reduced from an expanding position as a fisherman in a cooperative enterprise to a transient labourer. He lives for the day of return to his village, and lacks the desire and know-how to adapt to a successful career in his new environment. His pattern of work as a labourer has not been broken he is simply doing a different kind of work. But it is now unskilled and lacks promise of development. Similarly, his wife's role has not appreciably changed: she continues to make mats as in the village in hard times; works as a coolie as a substitute for her contributions in processing fish. The eldest daughter has adapted to an urban trade that of cigar rolling, but is well within the pattern of juvenile work carried on in the village at this time. If the family remained in Rangoon, the children would of course adapt completely to the urban work pattern - but is seems improbable that the parents would.

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The reduction in income from work can be seen in the following table:

Estimate of Family Average Income per year

Family Work	Income in Pathwe	Camp
Selling Fish Products	1,500	
Mat making	150	600
Cattle Loaning	200	
Day Labour		1,032
Miscellaneous (gathering, etc.)	900	
Daughter Ma Tin Shwe		240
Government Help		372
Total	2,750	2,144

The purchasing power of the rupee in Camp is not so toto appreciably different from that of Pathwe. The security of Pathwe work was not so much in the surplus which results, but rather in the guaranteed sources of work. Life was easy and a living to be had for the taking. In camp existence is hand to mouth with no real security. U Myaing expresses this when asked about his knowledge of world affairs: "We don't know whether the world situation has improved or not. We get lots of information, but our main worry is work - and how to provide

sufficient food for myself and my family." Yet, it is significant that he[1] manifests no anxiety symptoms, and appears happy and carefree. This suggests that despite the fact that he is presented with insecurity he does not react to it with tensions that have nervous manifestations. The sense of insecurity does not seem to be in his pattern of living, consequently his response is ill-defined.

The points of difference that U Myaing especially emphasised were:-

1. A few weeks of intensive work in Pathee would get him more than a whole year of salary working in Rangoon.

2. His income in Rangoon is established at a low level. In Pathee he might make 3 or 4 times his average income from fish products in a good year. On bad years he might just break even. But this did not affect his everyday living quality - since his food was for the most part gathered (fish, fruits etc.) or secured from the cattle loan (baskets of rice).

3. If he was sick in Pathee his standard of living was not threatened. He made his cash in a short time and had ample leisure for resting. In Rangoon if he does not work he does not eat.

4. In Pathee he usually had a surplus of 1000 to 1500 rupees on hand during a year. To be lent out (free of interest) to friends and relatives or (usually) invested in fish or family accoutrement. Now he lives from hand to mouth.

5. The loss of comfort and ease is severely felt by the adults. In Rangoon he works to stay alive, in Pathee, to enjoy a full life.

[1 i.e., U Myaing -- ANALYST]

TABLE

Quantity of clothes and personal items on hand and consumed by U Myaing's family in Pathee and camp.*

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Item	Consumer	On hand and quantity consumed per year. Pathee	Camp.
Cotton Longyis	U Myaing	5 or 6	(2 or 3) 4
Silk Longyis	"	(4 or 5) 1	0
Cotton Shirts	"	7 or 8	(1) 2
Vests	"	6 or 7	(1) 2
Burmese jackets	"	(2) .25	0
Headbands	"	3	0
Handkerchiefs	"	12	0
Underwear pants	"	(5) 4	0
Head Towels	"	2	0
Umbrellas	"	(1) .25	0
Bamboo hats (topees)	"	(1) .5	0
Razor, Gillette brand	"	(1)	0
Safety razor blades	"	(12) 15	0
Big razors	"	(1)	Same
Haircuts	"	24	12
Cosmetique for hair, sticks.	"	12	0
Celluloid comb	"	1	0
Slippers, "Hi Planes" pairs	"	3	0

*When there are two figures, the amount on hand is placed in parentheses. If the same item is used in both places the word "same" is used in camp column.

Cloth Table 1.(b)

Item	Consumer	Pathes	Cms.
Sandals, slippers pairs	U Myaing.	3	(1) 3
Wooden clogs, pairs	"	3 or 4	(1) 12
Face towels	"	2	0
Body towels	"	(1) 4	0
Ruby ring	"	(1)	0
Gold ring	"	(1)	0
Gold chain and buttons for fastening shirts	"	(1)	0
Silver cuff links	"	(1)	0
Cotton Tamein	Ma Aye Myaing	10	(4) 8
"	Daw Aw Zar	(3 or 4) 6 or 8	(2) 4
"	Two elder daughters	(10) 15	(6) 18
Jackets	Ma Aye Myaing	(7) 9	(3) 4
"	Daw Aw Zar	6	(2) 3
"	Two elder daughters, each	(4 to 6) 6	(3) 6
Frocks	2 younger daughters, together	(10) 12	(6) 8
Bodices	Ma Aye Myaing	(5) 6	(3) 5
"	Daw Aw Zar	(2) 8	(2) 3.5
Underwear	Two elder daughters, together.	(8) 9.5	(4) 6
Panties	2 younger daughters, together.	(5) 7.5	(4) 6
Slippers, leather, pairs	all females, each	1	0
Sandals, wooden, pairs	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 4	(1) 12
"	The four daughters, each	(1) 4	(1) 12

Cloth Table 1. (c)

Item	Consumer	Pathee	Camp
Scarf	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar	2	Same
Gold chain with pendant	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear-plugs with synthetic diamonds	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
"	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear plugs with white stones	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(½)
Gold earrings	2 younger daughters, each	(1)	0
Copper and gold earrings	Youngest daughter	(1)	Same
Silver anklet, pair	2 youngest daughters, together	(2)	Same (1)
Face powder, sticks of sandal wood	All females	(80 to 100) 24	(1) 64
Cuticura brand, talcum powder, tins	Ma Aye Myaing and her children	(2) 12	0
Face powder, sticks of other woods	Daw Aw Zar	3	0
Ivory comb	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
Bamboo comb	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 1.3	(1) 1.3
Silver buttons, set	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(1)
Crystal buttons, set	Daw Aw Zar, Ma Aye Myaing and eldest daughter, each	(1)	Same
Green stone buttons, set	Eldest daughter	(1)	Same
Stone slab for making face powder	All females	(3)	(1)
Coconut oil for hair, ticals	All females	(20) 120	"small quantity" "few days"
Parasol	Children	(2) 4	0
Umbrella	Ma Aye Myaing	(1) 1-3	0

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Analysis of wearing apparel used by U Myaing's family.

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Fifty three items of wearing apparel and personal accoutrement were recorded. These are divided into three large catagories:

(1) Objects used in Pathwe but not in camp.
(2) Objects used in camp but not in Pathwe.
(3) Objects used in both localities.

Twenty nine items used in Pathwe were not used in camp. 55% of the Pathwe complex had been discontinued for a variety of reasons. The bulk of the objects were not replaced due to lack of funds. Many items such as umbrellas, towels, leather sandals were needed and desired. Some objects, such as men's jackets, headbands, silk longyis and associated underwear pants, men's bamboo hats, men's hair dressing comb, jewelry and parasols are recognised as luxury items. Both the ceremonial and social occasions in which such luxuries assumed the proportions of necessities had diminished or disappeared so that the desire for them is no longer as strong. This is reflected in the statements that some of the luxuries were no longer desired (hair dressing) or that smaller quantities (silk longyis) would be adequate.

It is interesting to note that whereas both U Myaing and the ladies had the same number of items in Pathwe (26 respectively) - in camp U Myaing has only 7 items or 28% of the Pathwe complex. The ladies, however, have 16 items or 59% of the Pathwe complex. This data suggests that the women's standards are less flexible than the men's. In order to be respectable the women have to have certain items. Whereas, U Myaing's demand depends more on his immediate situation. If this is so, then it follows that the men's standard might expand more rapidly under opulent conditions - with sets of special socio-ceremonial garb (headband, silk longyi, jacket, jewelry including western items(Gillette razor, topee, western jackets and shirts).

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Only three objects were used in camp but not in Pathwe. The rubber-tyred wooden sandals are simply new varieties of an old form used in Pathwe - a cheap and popular urban form due to abundance of tyre-rubber following the war. The earrings with white stones and set of silver buttons are also substitute varieties, not innovations.

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The silver button set, however is a sort of windfall, resulting from the family's contact with more opulent urban standards.

Thirty nine percent of the total complex, 21 items, were used in the two localities. These fell into the categories of: (1) items taken from Pathwe, and (2) items secured to replace those used in Pathwe.

Only 6 items or 11% of the complex survived from Pathwe days. These were big razor, scarf, copper and gold earrings, silver anklets, crystal and blue stone button sets. The razor took on the new function of shaving U Myaing in addition to the heads of the children but this was a pre-gillette-razor-stage function.

One item, ladies bamboo combs, was used in exactly the same frequency in both locales. It is easy to understand why this low frequency, cheap and durable object was unaffected by the change in the standard of living. Either the quantity on hand or amount consumed varied in the other cases. In a few instances the camp frequency was higher: the elder daughters used more cotton TAMEINS (though less are kept on hand) - a reflection of their greater social activities as elder children in an urban situation; 2 or 3 times as many wooden sandals are used in camp because: (1) those are the cheapest footwear, and (2) they wear out more rapidly on the Rangoon pavement than on the Pathwe mud-walks. The other items showed marked reduction in quantity, ranging from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$. Qualitatively the reduction is not so easily measured. However, most of the items cost less than in Pathwe. With inflation and an urban market, the qualities must have fallen below those of Pathwe for the most part.

In conclusion: over half of the personal accoutrement complex of Pathwe was discontinued, with the greater sacrifice falling to U Myaing. These items become part of an inactive cultural inventory to be recovered when and if the family again resume their former standard of living.

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FOOD

Eating Routine

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Ma Aye Myaing does the cooking with the help of the eldest daughter. U Myaing never cooks. In our third interview U Myaing prompted his wife what to say, concerning the routine of cooking, indicating that he understood the main outlines of the art:

> "In the morning the fire has to be made so as to cook the rice. After the fire is made the rice is washed and cooked. Then it is HNUT (water drained and rice steamed.) The onions to put in the curry are then sliced, the chillies are pounded vinegar is added and then everything is placed on the fire. This is what you are required to say."

Thus prompted, Ma Aye Myaing gets off to a fast start in giving information of her province.

> "I rise early in the morning, draw water, make the fire, set the tea-pot on, wash the rice, cook it, drain the water away, steam it, pound chillies, chop fish, peel potatoes, slice onions and skin prawns. Sesamum oil is first put in and THUT (smell of oil is cured) with onions and chillies in the pan. After this the potatoes are put in - potatoes and prawns. We cook once in the morning at 7 o'clock and once in the evening at 3 o'clock. In the morning there are times when we cook potatoes with prawn, and also times when we cook with vegetables. The evening meal is cooked with fish - it differs. Sometimes also we cook the fish by itself.
>
> "The meals we had to eat in Pantanaw were better of course. Only at times do we find cooking oil and onions etc. for our meals here. Rice has to bought; only at times do we have fish to eat. Sometimes we have to eat with vinegar and chillies (for curry)- sometimes vegetables and prawns."

U Myaing gives some information on the source of food in camp.

● [722]

> "The government brings rice, oil and salt once every 7 days - four times a month. Sometimes they do not come four times but only about twice a month. In Pathwe where food was concerned, there were fields. We could buy the paddy from the fields very cheaply. We get fish from the INS also."

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There are no great differences between cooking procedure in Pathwe and in the refugee camp. The only difference is that, prices being lower in Pathwe, there is some difference in the ingredients used and the dishes eaten. For example, fish oil, which can be used in cooking was obtained free of charge. It was so plentiful that the villagers even used it as a lubricant for the rice mill and also as axle grease for their bullock carts.

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the bereaved bring with them gifts of money and in this way seek to help them to defray the funeral expenses of which the funeral feast held 7 days after the death is most expensive. Sometimes these visitors are so generous that the householder does not need to contribute anything at all. Some people, however, prefer to reserve the right to pay for burial expenses of someone in the family, and put out an announcement requesting neighbours to refrain from making monetary contributions.

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The community activities in the refugee camp are mainly of an economic nature - discussed in the section on "Work". The solidarity of the village is lacking and the feelings of obligation and responsibility beyond the basic economic ones are absent.

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In Pathwe there are ethnic groups other than the Burmese. There are a few Karens, Indians of Madrasi affiliation, as well as a few Chinese who run stores. The attitude of the family toward these other groups are reflected in the following interview: (Note: the concept of "religion" is used here as meaning "general way of life."

Q. "Does U Kyaing know about other religions such as Christianity and Hinduism? If so, what is his attitude towards them.

A. "I don't understand them well. We are with our own religion. We are country folk. We understand our religion only. We don't understand other religions.

Q. "What is your attitude towards other racial groups living in the village?

A. "I don't hold any positive attitude. I harbour no evil thoughts. We hold them to be the same as we are.

Q. "Would you like to go back to live among the Karens you spoke of just now?

A. (D.A.Z.) "Of course not. Lots of Burmese were left behind. We wouldn't dare to live among the Karens."
(U.M.) "Some people do not dare to live among the Karens, but we do."
(D.A.Z.) U.M.)"We don't have enemies."
(D.A.Z.) "There are Karens who are friendly with us."
(U.M.) "Say that we lived together. We lived together."
(D.A.Z.)"Though we have no enemies we feel afraid. In the present turmoil and confusion people no longer know each other."

Q. " Do the Karens differ from you in religion?"

A. (U.M.) "Our religions do not differ. The religion of Karens in our place and our religion do not differ. It is Buddhism."

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Q. "We want to know your relations with adherents of other religions. There are people who worship Indian gods, Chinese gods, and Christians - what is your attitude towards them?"

A. (U.N.) "I don't hold any attitude at all."

Q. " Do you get on well?"

A. (U.N.) "Yes. We get on very well. They buy our goods and we buy theirs. They rent our fields and cultivate them. If there are cows they are borrowed and lent. We live together like this - buying and selling."

Q. "This is about the people. How about their attitude towards their gods?"

A. "I have no attitude."

Q. "Have you never thought about it?"

A. "I have never thought about it. Their god is only slightly different. There is only one god. There will be only one god. Only people differ somewhat. Our outlook should be improved. After all, his god is my god and my god is his god. Only the races differ. Even one race is divided within itself."

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The relationship of the family to the state in Pathwe involve taxes, military service and voting. In the pre-war days, U Myaing and family had to pay a capitation tax, levied at the rate of Rs. 5/- per year for a married couple, and Rs. 2/8 per year for a bachelor of twenty and over. Children and unmarried women and widows are exempt from any tax whatsoever. There was a land tax on cultivation fields - levied at the rate of annas 2 per acre per annum, and also on garden land at one anna or two annas per acre per annum according to the value of the land. The tax on INS - or purchase of the fishery rights amounted to a figure anywhere between Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 12,000/-. U Myaing is not liable to taxes because of his low income, he retains his voting privileges for general elections.

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The family was moved from Pathwe to the refugee camp because of the insurrection and has been under the protection of the government since coming to camp. The proportion of food and shelter benefits, which they receive from the government, has been noted under those headings. According to government policy, shelter is provided for the family, and food for all except one adult who is expected to work.

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Education for U Myaing's children is provided by the government both in Pantanaw and in the refugee camp. Only the cost of the books has to be paid by him.

Children in the Pathwe village learnt their lessons at the government school. This school, which was on THA-GYI-BET side, teaches pupils up to the tenth standard. The school house was built by contributions taken in the village. When U Myaing was young, they had to pay a tuition fee of four annas each to the schoolmaster every month. Now government has taken over the cost of educating the children, and fees are no longer required of them. The children only have to bring their own books and pencils. There are three teachers in the school; one headmaster and two assistants. The headmaster draws a salary of Rs. 100/- and the assistants of over Rs. 90/- each. There are other schools across the river but they teach only up till the fourth standard, and children of higher grades have to come to THA-GYI-BET to attend school.

Addenda

U Myaing is not a member of any political party. He is concerned mainly with his work and the daily task of providing food for his family. He does not belong to any union or other organisation of workers. 621 722 622

There are about 1500 people in the refugee camp living in 14 or 15 buildings. The schoolmaster is regarded as a leader. There are two others who help him- Maung Myint and Aung Gyi. Maung Myint is 48 years old and Aung Gyi is 37. The young men in the camp also recognise these three people as elders. The three of them undertake all responsibilities for dealing with the government and making representations to the government regarding rice, milk-powder, etc. They are not paid anything in money, but get a larger share in the allotments of food, etc., made by the government to the camp. "If we get one condensed milk tin of rice, they get one basket." All the other members of the camp , including U Myaing, are satisfied with this arrangement since these three have been doing the work for the past two years. The Chief Justice of the Union, U B Maung asked them to undertake this responsibility for the camp.

In the case of thieves who are caught, the government consent to arrest the thieves. "If the people in the camp catch a thief, they would tell him and only afterwards settle with the government. It was the same back in Pathne when a thief was caught. Even if he did not die he would have to suffer terribly. In Pathne it was the task of the headman to take the offender to the police station, but here in camp the station is quite near and the householder can take him to the station by himself. 625

The government works through the school-master. It gives him recognition as a leader in the affairs of the camp. Maung Myint has to look after the welfare of two sheds and their inmates, Aung Gyi has the [illegible] three, and Ko Ba Khaut the school-master has the charge of the 621 641

These are his "eggs" and it is his duty to guard them while the others cluster around trying to get them away from him without being caught in the attempt. If they are successful in getting all the eggs away they then go and hide them. The "turtle" then has to go and look for eggs while the rest follow her giving encouragement clapping hands and shouting the chant " LEIT U Py UK LO LEIT MA SHAR THU KHIN BYAR NOO ME NOO MEY (Because her eggs are lost the poor female turtle is tearfully looking for them). If the child succeeds in catching any one in an attempt to get an egg away that person becomes the turtle. 527 858

In Pathwe they celebrated the water festival, but they did it in moderation and were satisfied if a person got slightly wet. MOK-LET-HNAUNG was given in the village. 527

U Myaing did not save any money in Pathwe. Sometimes he made a great deal of money and sometimes he made nothing at all. Sometimes if he had a lot of money he would loan it out to some one else to be returned in three or four months time if possible. Sometimes these loans continued unsettled for about a year. Only in Rangoon do you have to pay interest. In Pathwe if you did not borrow from chettiars you did not need to pay any interest. U Myaing did not go to the chettiars. He borrowed only from his relatives. There were people who went to raise money from the chettiar money lenders and some of them lost house, cultivation fields etc. because they could not pay the high rate of interest and had the mortgages on their property foreclosed. 454 426 [563]

Analysis of Social and Ceremonial Activities

The refugee camp may be regarded as a new village composed of families who came from villages in the delta similar to Pathwe but placed in an urban setting. The other refugees have the same understandings as to socio-ceremonial activities as U Myaing and the basic 621 722 [369]

621 structure of the social and political organization is the same in
722 both places. However, the expectations and obligations of the original village are ill defined perhaps for the reason that the camp families no longer depend so completely on each other for their social and ceremonial activities. In Pathwe, U Myaing and his family were responsible citizens of the village as a whole. In camp, they are merely temporary residents with only the most rudimentary of obligations to their fellow refugees. The basic functions of the camp are carried out by semi-official persons. There is a minimum of feeling of solidarity in the camp where the immediate family is the major functioning unit.

Much has been lost with the passing of the communal activities of the small village. Yet the basic social and ceremonial activities
[181] are still carried out in Rangoon. The community has become a large, impersonal one but the values are the same. The activities, as at the gigantic Shwe Dagon pagoda, duplicate those of the village on a grand scale and are hence more stimulating - but the family is no longer in a special status position and are nameless and unknown in their activities. Because of lack of money the activities are greatly curtailed in scope, but also the obligation is less. In this sense the family is "freed" from pressing obligations of the village where, for example, they were expected to contribute relatively large sums to community activities.

621 The familiar and beloved flavour of routine village activities
722 is replaced by the excitement of life in the big town. Everything is
369 new and different and while the basic understandings are still
517 encountered the old restrictions of the small community have disappeared. Life in Rangoon is full of possibilities and amusement.

369 Recently (during the summer of 1951) U Myaing was promoted from
555 street cleaner to boss of the cleaners of one section. He still gets
[465] a salary of Rs. 86/- a month but has the position of an overseer somewhat equivalent in status to the IH overseer's job in Pathwe. There
000 are many opportunities for an honest and intelligent person to rise in Rangoon. In October 1951 U Myaing visited me to take an order for table mats. His samples were much too large and bound with a violent

orange cloth but he remembered my original order and wanted to make these specialty items. I directed him to some friends who I thought would be interested. He was dressed in a new white shirt, colourful new longyi, a brown cloth topee and leather sandals and looked prosperous and contented. Recently, Ma Aye Myaing had presented him with another baby daughter and both were doing well. I asked him when he was going back to Pathwe. "Yes," he said, "as soon as it is safe to return." Even a considerably higher salary would not persuade him to stay in Rangoon. Here "though the eye is rich, the pocket is poor". U Myaing is well on his way to making a successful adjustment as an urbanite — but his heart will probably always remain in the village.

CONCLUSION

Summary of Data

The data presented above on the changing standard of living of the Burmese fisherman-refugee family may be briefly summarized as follows:

Home: A change from a large teak wood house personally owned to cramped quarters under the eves of a bamboo hut provided by the refugee camp. This represented a decline to 1/50th of the original home space but only to 1/10th of the original space used for the home vital functions of cooking, eating and sleeping. Home as a spacious area for social activities is replaced by an area used almost exclusively for the vital functions. There are no innovations and the pattern of home is not broken but is greatly contracted close to the minimum requirements.

Work: A change from a position as an overseer of a cooperative fishing organisation with income from cattle and fish products manufacturing to a day labourer. This represented a severe drop in income and prestige but was not outside of the labouring pattern which U Myaing was familiar with from his youth. It is a return to his basic occupation. The "road back" to position and higher income is being taken - at the present writing (November 1951) U Myaing has been raised to coolie boss of a section of street cleaners. Opportunities for rising in Rangoon are good and the future is once more promising.

Clothing: U Myaing is reduced by 72% from his former quantity, and the females of the family by 41%. The social clothing and accoutrement have been sacrificed and the inventory reduced to the garments essential for basic living. Quality of clothing has greatly declined. The process has been one of severe contraction but the pattern has not been broken or innovations substituted.

Health: The health of the family appears to be relatively unimpaired by change. However, the medical data necessary to arrive at a reliable analysis could not be secured. The most we can say is that hygenic conditions have not materially altered in the camp situation, and the family is not aware of any radical changes in health. The proximity of modern medical aid in Rangoon is of course a great advantage in any emergencies of which the family is becoming

511 178 ●722 369 increasingly cognizant.

Food: The relative quality of food has remained the same but many expensive items have been discarded. Cheap foods when known previously have been elevated to importance in the camp dict but no previously unknown foods have been accepted - the new trifles which have become popular with the family are close enough in taste to the Pathwe trifles no longer available. Many foods which were secured free in Pathwe now cost money and have been discarded or reduced in quantity. The dict is reduced close to the essentials.

Social and ceremonial activities: The active life in which the family was involved in a small folk community has given way to life in an urban community where the major consideration is gaining a livelihood. But the new life is promising and exciting and retains the basic activities of the village.

Concluding Analysis

121 Some preliminary conclusions can be drawn from this particular set of circumstances; also the data suggests hypothesis of wider application to Burmese culture specifically and human societies generally.

183 Nature of the case: The case is clearly one of reduction in standard of living where the pattern of living remains unbroken. As such, certain deductions concerning the flexibility of the pattern can be drawn. The general situation is a contraction where items were sloughed-off as the pattern approached a minimum situation. The extreme level beyond which the pattern would have broken and/or the family ceased to exist was not reached. Data on such cases would be most valuable in extending this study. For example, I heard of a case supposedly during the Japanese occupation where a girl became too poor to afford a longyi and had to use gunny-sacks for clothing. The story goes that this girl committed suicide. Also, during the war some families are reported to have been reduced to eating "only rice and ngapi" - apparently the irreducible condition. Data on families expanding economically would also be necessary to carry this type of study in the other direction. U Myaing's case gives data on the flexibility of the Burmese culture pattern under certain circumstances from a median point of average standard of living, to a point near the minimum standard.

183 369 The conditions under which this flexibility was observed were those of a displaced family uprooted from a folk society and replanted in an refugee community within an urban society. As such the case